

## POLITICAL SYSTEM

### The Constitution-

- Created in 1787, ratified in 1788
- Article 1- Legislative, Article 2- Executive, Article 3- Judiciary
- In order to amend you must have a 2/3rds majority in Congress, the amendment must then be approved by 3/4s of all states.
- It has only been amended 27 times.

### Federalism-

- System of power sharing between the Federal and State Governments

### Congress: Make-Up

- Made up of 535 members and the House/Senate
- 100 senators, 2 from every state
- 435 Reps, depends on population of each state (always changing)
- Elections every two years- but only a 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the senate is elected each time.

### Congress: Powers

- To make and amend legislation
- To confirm appointments
- To pass the national budget
- To declare war

### Congress: Checks and Balances

- On the President:
  - Power of impeachment
  - Can reject Presidential appointments
  - Power of the Purse
  - Can overturn Presidential vetoes.
  - Can reject treaties agreed to by the President
- On the Supreme Court
  - Can reject appointments to the judiciary
  - Can initiate amendments to the constitution
  - Can impeach judges

### President: Make-Up

- President and Vice President
- Cabinet appointed by the President to lead various Depts. (Health, Defense etc.)
- The Executive Office of the President and Federal Organizations

### President: Powers

- Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces
- Chief Diplomat
- Appoints Federal employees/Cabinet members/Judges
- Can veto bills
- Executive orders

### President: Checks and Balances

- On Congress:
  - Recess appointments
  - Can veto laws
  - Can command military without them
- On the Supreme Court
  - Can appoint judges
  - Can pardon criminals

### Supreme Court: Make-Up

- Made up of 9 judges so there is always a majority.
- Judges serve until they die or retire.

### Supreme Court: Powers

- Power of judicial review declaring laws constitutional or unconstitutional
- Rule on cases between states.
- Is highest court in land, so may deal with cases referred to them.

### Supreme Court: Checks and Balances

- On Congress:
  - Power of judicial review.
  - Compensation cannot be diminished clause (salary can't be changed)
- On the President:
  - Preside over impeachment.
  - Power of judicial review.

### FDR's effect on the Presidency

- Fireside Chats
  - FDR would directly address the nation via radio
  - First one on March 13, 1933
  - Used this medium to announce legislation- 80% of words used in 1000 most popular
- Legislator in Chief
  - Changed perception of President as being the person to change the law. Not just enforce it.
  - In his first 100 days he passed 15 pieces of legislation. In his 12 years he vetoed 635 laws!
- The New Deal
  - Expanded the power of the Federal Government in regulating domestic affairs- especially the economy.
  - Created new Federal Departments, appointing close advisors without confirmation.
  - EXAMPLE: WPA in 1938 employed over 3 million Americans using Federal money
- The Executive Office of the President
  - Established through Reorganization Act of 1939

- Made up of WHO and Bureau of the Budget- President has power to change make-up of it.
- **The Court Packing Scandal**
  - Judicial Procedure Reform Bill of 1937 created by FDR declared justices had to retire at 70.
  - Never enacted but scared Court enough to begin ruling in FDR's favour.

### **WWII's effect on the Presidency**

- **Increasing Executive Power**
  - FDR claimed infinite powers during WWII- declaring unlimited national emergency on May 27 1941.
  - War Powers Acts of 1941 and 1942 led to FDR having the power to reorganize the entire executive branch, censor all media, and take over any public land for Govt. use.
- **Secrecy of War Diplomacy**
  - The increase in diplomacy created a greater disconnect between President and nation.
  - The Nuclear Weapons programme, Tehran Conference and Yalta Conference were all largely done in secret- even Truman didn't know

### **TRUMAN'S FOREIGN POLICY**

#### **The inherited situation**

- Truman becomes President on April 12<sup>th</sup> 1945.
- Yalta Conference in Feb 1945 agrees to split Germany into 4 sections, have free elections in Eastern Europe and for USSR to join war against Japan.
- USA is winning both wars Germany surrenders on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1945, Japan is still fighting but weak.
- Truman learns of the Atomic Bomb and has the power to use it on Japan

#### **Potsdam:**

- Truman, Atlee and Stalin.
- Confirmed split of Germany into 4 and Berlin into 4. Truman didn't tell Stalin he had the atomic bomb. USSR had spread communism to Poland against America's wishes.

#### **Kennan's long telegram:**

- George Kennan is deputy ambassador to USSR, sends telegram on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1946 explaining why USSR wouldn't join world bank
- Describes how USSR cannot coexist with the USA, and must be contained to stop Communism

spreading. Recommends USA do this through economic and diplomatic means

- Kennan is appointed as Chief of the Policy Planning Unit by SofS George Marshall, and is integral in design of Marshall Plan

#### **Truman Doctrine**

- Announced on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1947.
- In response to Greek Civil War and Communist threat in Turkey, Truman asks Congress to approve \$400 million in aid to both countries, they accept.
- Sets precedent of US help to threatened states through economic means.

#### **Marshall Plan**

- Designed by Marshall and Kennan- fulfilled economic containment recommended by Kennan
- Began in April 1948 and continued for four years
- Provided 17 billion dollars to European countries helping them rebuild after WWII
- Led to huge growth, with average increase of 35% growth in European countries

#### **Berlin Blockade**

- Germany split into 4 in 1945. June 1948 GB, Fr and the USA united their countries as Trizonia, introduced new currency.
- Stalin felt left out so he decided to block trade and access to his section of East Berlin. The Blockade lasted 318 days.
- USA responded by sending 275,000 planes transporting 1.5 million tons of supplies over the 318 days. A plane landed every three minutes at Berlin's airport.
- Stalin eventually gives up in 12 May 1949

#### **NATO**

- Established in April 1949- influenced by Berlin Blockade
- National Atlantic Treaty organisation- ensured European countries knew they were protected due to establishment of system of Collective Security

#### **NSC 68**

- Dean Acheson becomes SofS in Jan 1949, was much more militaristic than Marshall
- USSR get A-Bomb in August 1949, in reaction Kennan's theories had to be readdressed
- Acheson replaces Kennan with Paul Nitze in 1950, Nitze also believed in stronger force.
- Makes NSC/68 recommends than containment only works with a stronger military- ask for increase in budget from 13 to 50 billion
- Truman accepts.

#### **China becoming Communist**

- October 1<sup>st</sup> 1949- Mao proclaims the People's Republic of China, a new communist state
- Chiang Kai-Shek and defeated nationalists escape to Taiwan. Truman had spent \$2 Billion supporting them.
- Truman is tarnished for having 'lost China'. Many say he should have done more.

#### **Involvement in Indochina**

- After shock of China- Truman decides to support France over the Vietnamese Freedom Fighters of Ho Chi Minh. He was worried Chi Minh would be Stalin's puppet.
- Begins funding in May 1950. He eventually agrees to cover 78% of French fees for fighting and controlling the area.
- He sends MAAG (Military Advisory Assistance Group) to assist the French in their fight.
- This all increases in wake of Korean War.

#### **Korean War**

- In 1945 Korea had been split along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. N. Korea became communist. S. Korea was capitalist.
- On 25<sup>th</sup> June, 1950 N. Korea invaded S.Korea with great success.
- In response to this USA got the UN to support S.Korea. Led by Douglas MacArthur and pushed N.Korea back over the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel- nearly defeating her. This decision to go beyond was known as 'rollback'
- China then pushed the S.Korean's back with military force. They recaptured N.Korea and went into S.Korea.
- The Americans landed more troops and drove the Chinese back to the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. The war ended in 1953, with a return to the status quo.
- 36,914 Americans die, Initial aim of saving S Korea successful, but Communism was not rolled back.

#### **DOMESTIC PROBLEMS:**

##### **Inflation:**

- Inflation rose to 25% in 1945-46. Due to a combination of the end of wartime price controls and a shortage of consumer goods.
- Truman tried to stop it by using the Office of Price Administration (OPA) but Congress weakened it and allowed prices to increase.

##### **Demobilisation:**

- 12 million soldiers needed to be reintegrated into the economy and society.
- Army was reduced to 3 million in 1945 and then 1.5 million in 1946.
- GI Bill of Rights helped reintegrate them distributing \$20 Billion to 7.8 million veterans

between 1945 and 1955. Unemployment never goes up beyond 5%.

##### **Labour Unions:**

- In 1945 36% of workers were unionised.
- 1946 was worst year- 4.6 million workers on strike- 116 million days lost.
- Truman found it hard to deal with as Labour is a democrat supporting group.
- Truman threatens to conscript railroad workers in May 1946, so they back down. Wins court case against United Mine Workers (UMW). But in general seen as weak- Polls suggested strikes were seen as nations main problem.
- Republican Congress introduce Taft Hartley Act in 1947- Unions were liable for breach of contract, Unions couldn't force workers to join and President could order a 80 day cooling off period. Unions angry at this and blame Truman.
- In April 1952 Steel Workers threaten to strike- Truman seizes control to stop this. Press and country view him as a dictator. Supreme Court say it is unconstitutional. Truman is humiliated- Steel workers go on strike and military output in 1952 is cut by a 1/3<sup>rd</sup>.

#### **POLITICAL PROBLEMS:**

##### **Problems with Congress:**

- Congress wanted to regain power after FDR- Truman had no crisis to justify legislation like the Great Depression
- Republicans win 1946 mid-term elections meaning they have a majority and can fight Truman (Taft Hartley passed for example). They opposed the majority of Truman's laws- he nicknamed it the 'Do Nothing Congress'
- Democrats did regain Congress post 1948 due to improving economy and Truman being seen as tough on Communism.

##### **1948 Election**

- Defeats Republican Favourite Thomas Dewey in huge upset. Also regains Congress. Seen as remarkable as Strom Thurmond had run as a Dixiecrat in the South.
- Truman embarked on 33 days 33,000-mile tour of USA, energising base of support, blaming all social ills on the 'do nothing congress'. "Give em hell Harry!" became a slogan shouted by supporters.
- Voters could see how Economy was improving and also how Truman was successfully containing Communism.
- Voters saw Republicans sought to pass many laws they had previously rejected while in Congress.
- Dewey was seen as boring with quotes such as 'Your future is still ahead of you'

##### **Red Scare**

- HUAC made permanent in 1945- dominated by Republicans- investigate Hollywood 10 in 1947
- March 1947 Truman set up Loyalty review boards to find communists in Government

- 1950- Truman tried to veto McCarran Act (Communist organizations had to register with Govt. and could be deported/denied a passport) It passed.
- Between 1947 and 1952 over 3 million investigations.
- In this time- Alger Hiss and Rosenbergs Case- Communist spies seemed a real threat

#### McCarthyism

- McCarthy makes his speech in Wheeling in Jan. 1950- announces he knows of 205 communists in State Dept.
- Creates the Tydings Committee to investigate claims- when Tydings says there are no spies- McCarthy claims he is a communist and he loses re-election.
- He headed up sub-committees investigating Communism- spread to local politics- state officials, teachers and professors lost jobs
- Helped ensure the defeat of Adlai Stevenson in the 1952 election and ensured Nixon won the Californian Senate race- with the Democratic candidates being accused of being 'Pinks' and soft on Communism.

#### The Fair Deal:

- Introduced in January 1949 after his election win, with 21 points.
- Seen as difficult as there was no crisis to force Congress to pass them like the New Deal. Also seen as too much- Republican Joseph Martin said 'Not even FDR had asked for so much'

#### Successes:

- Social Security extended to an extra million Americans
- Minimum wage raised from 40 cents to 75 cents.
- Farmers get assistance with measures for flood control, soil conservation and rural electrification.
- Increase of 11 million in employment
- Poverty reduced from 33% in 1949 to 28% in 1952.
- National School Lunch Act 1946 provided cheaper lunches for children.

#### Failures:

- Truman was perceived as being unsuccessful having a 22% approval rate in 1952.
- IRS scandal of 1951 with mass resignations due to corruption
- The Housing Act of 1949 was meant to build 810,000 homes but only built 156,000 by 1952. Slum clearances also meant urban housing increased in prices.
- Healthcare plans ruined by claims it was communist to create 'socialised medicine'
- Eventually had to give up on Fair Deal due to the Korean War, with GDP on military spending increasing to 14%.
- Failed to overturn the Taft-Hartley Act.
- Failed to achieve Anti-Lynching Bill.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS AND TRUMAN:

**In 1945 there are 14 million African Americans in the USA, making up 10% of the population.**

#### 1945 South

- Jim Crow laws were still prevalent in the South- in all public services and private businesses.
- Jobs were mainly agricultural or menial- hard to get better jobs due to segregated education
- Best job was that of a minister (hence MLK's good education)
- Very hard to vote- only 12% in 1947. Literacy tests were used to ask impossible questions like how many bubbles in a bar of soap- barring AAs from voting
- Little protection from the law.

#### 1945 North

- Jim Crow laws don't exist but segregation exists through economics and ghettoization. Poor northern areas, with bad public services with only AAs living there.
- AAs also faced discrimination through employment and housing. Such as 'restricted covenants' where buyers had to promise not to sell to AAs.
- AAs found it easier to vote and even win political office, with Reps Adam Powell and William Dawson being high profile AA politicians.
- Were equally discriminated against in the courts

#### Effect of WWII

- Due to increase in manufacturing jobs, there was a 'Great Migration' of AAs to the more liberal North, with 1.4 million moving.
- Migration leads to racial tension- race riots in Detroit 1943, leading to 43 deaths.
- Armed forces remained segregated for the war, and the Red Cross wouldn't accept blood donations from Black People.
- Renewed political activism: Double V Campaign, founding of CORE in 1942, NAACP increases from 50,000 to 450,000.
- A. Phillip Randolph led the Black Labour Union- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters threatened to strike- in reaction Truman create the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) in 1941. Promising no discrimination in the war industry (which 2 million AAs worked in)
- African Americans earned great deal of respect from war- Tuskegee Airmen (all black squadron) earned over 700 medals.
- KKK revived in the South- estimated to have killed \_\_\_\_\_
- Isaac Woodward case- Black Veteran blinded by Sheriff in 1946, white jury find him innocent.

- Jim Crow laws and discrimination remained.
- Army eventually desegregated in 1948

### Civil Rights Campaigns

- CORE organised the 1947 'Journey of Reconciliation', travelling on the apparently 'desegregated' interstate buses They were arrested several times gaining media attention that Morgan vs Virginia 1946 was being ignored
- NAACP focused on court cases, rather than direct action. Establishing a Legal Defence Fund in 1939. They wanted to overturn Plessy vs Ferguson 1896. Had many successes
  - 1946 Morgan vs Virginia- segregation on interstate buses was illegal
  - 1948 Shelley vs Kramer- banned 'restrictive covenants'
  - 1950 Henderson vs USA- banned segregation in railway dining carts
- Supreme Court had no means to enforce these decisions, but were symbolic and helped NAACP to gain more support and funding.

### Truman and Government's influence on Civil Rights

- Truman found it hard to deal with congress, so passed several Executive Orders:
  - June 1941, 8802 Established FEPC
  - Dec. 1946, 9802 Creates PCCR to write report on Civil Rights progress
  - July 1948, 9981 Desegregates Army
  - Dec. 1951, 10308 Establishes CGCC, putting pressure on companies with Govt. Contracts to not discriminate.
- PCCR produce 'Secure these Rights' in 1947, recommending a huge programme of Civil Rights laws supported by Truman.
- Truman appeals to Congress with speech in Feb 1948. Congress ignore it, no laws passed. Biggest opposition from Dixiecrats like Strom Thurmond.
- Truman also became first President to make speech before NAACP in 1946.
- Truman was seen to be preoccupied with foreign affairs- fails to pass any laws and doesn't support FEPC enough
- Why was Truman supporting Civil Rights?
  - He wanted to win the Black Vote for the 1948 election (see timing of orders)
  - He needed USA to look much more liberal than USSR
  - He believed in fairness- as seen through speeches and was disgusted by treatment of soldiers (he fought in WWI)
- Federalism was a huge problem with Southern States controlling public services.

### Domestic

#### 1952 Election

- Eisenhower won with 55% of the vote.
- Led the D-Day landings in 1944 and was Supreme Commander in Europe
- McCarthyism tarnished Democrats and the 'Pink' Adlai Stevenson.
- Eisenhower was seen as a change front the foreign policy failures of Truman.

#### Dynamic Conservatism:

#### *'Liberal when it comes to people- Conservative when it comes to money'*

- Established the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which created a vaccine for Polio in 1955
- Expanded Social Security to include 10 million more people, increased minimum wage by 25%
- Federal Highway Act 1956, created many jobs and built 41,000 miles of road.
- Under Eisenhower domestic spending increased from 31% in 1953 to 49% in 1961.
- Failed to pass a law to construct schools in 1955- but passed the National Defence Education Act in 1958 (after Sputnik) creating federal funding for colleges.
- Achieved a balanced budget in 1956, 1957 and 1960.
- Poverty still a problem- ¼ of all Americans were in poverty in the 1950s- recessions of 1954 and 1958.
- Had difficulties with the Old Guard of the Republicans- they demanded tax cuts and wanted Eisenhower to be less liberal

#### Boom Statistics

- GNP rose significantly from \$355.3 billion in 1950 to \$487.76 billion in 1960
- Per Capita income rose from \$1720 in 1940 to \$2699 in 1960
- By 1960, the average family was 30% richer than in 1950
- Between 1953-57 the cost of living rose by 2.8%, but wages went up by 8.6%
- Overall the economy grew by 37% during the 1950s

#### End of McCarthyism

- Eisenhower was reluctant to confront McCarthy due to the power he had with the electorate (Aug 1954 showed 62% of Republicans still admired him)
- Eisenhower believed he would destroy himself.
- He did so- Army-McCarthy April-June 1954. Eisenhower didn't allow McCarthy to use any National Security files so McCarthy had no evidence and resorted to bullying- the trials were filmed.
- Led to decline- Censured in March 1954 and died in 1957.

#### Why did the economy boom?

##### Impact of War

- Destruction of world industry allowed US to take advantage- 7% of population- 50% of world's manufactured goods

- Military spending continued after the war, accounting for 14% of GNP in 1953, creating lots of jobs.
- GI Bill created new wave of wealthy/educated veterans

#### **Baby Boom**

- Between 1946 and 1964, 76.4 million babies were born (a huge increase).
- Each baby was reckoned to be worth \$800 to the economy.
- Life magazine in August 1959 described this generation as having ' \$10 billion power'. Due to their buying of non-essential goods.

#### **Motor Industry**

- This new found wealth was usually spent on cars, with there being 68 million on the road by 1958.
- This led to a boom in car manufacturing in the USA with the US firms of GM, Chrysler and Ford producing over 7.9 million cars in 1955 alone.
- These American firms produced 90% of cars bought in the USA, meaning all profit stayed within their borders.
- This boom had a knock-on effect, creating an Automobile culture- 228 McDs by 1960

#### **Housing**

- The Levitt brothers created a new 'Levittown home' selling for only \$8000.
- By 1960- 30% of families lived in the suburbs
- Led to increase in demand for consumer goods

#### **Advertising**

- Increased the selling of non-essential goods: \$255 million dollars in 1952 on chewing gum alone
- Advert industry increased from a 6-billion-dollar industry in 1950 to a 13 billion dollar one in 1963.
- Robert Sarnoff (President of the National Broadcasting Company said 'Advertising is the foot on the accelerator, the foot on the throttle'.

#### **Credit**

- American Express created in 1958.
- FHA and VA gave loans for housing.
- Private debt more than doubled- being \$104.8 billion in 1950 to \$263.3 billion in 1960

#### **Impacts of the consumer society:**

- **Creation of the service/tertiary sector**- jobs no longer in production. By 1960 white collar workers outnumbered blue collar workers- many poorly paid
- **The homogenisation of culture**- 50% of Americans said watching TV was their favourite activity- they would watch the same shows. McDonalds and Burger King became more popular.
- **Creation of suburbia**- houses in suburbia were near identical- Levittown houses. TV shows such as *Father Knows Best* entrenched family roles and values. Many

suburban houses had restrictive covenants, meaning suburbs were mainly white- leaving cities as African American hubs.

- **Limitations of the boom**- ¼ still unemployed, due to middle class/white Americans leaving to the suburbs cities became ghettoized, with public services becoming poorer. 1958 recession led to 5 million unemployed and production falling by 14%

#### **FOREIGN**

- **New Look Policy:** Eisenhower's policy of getting more bang for your buck, by reducing military spending and focusing on Nuclear Weapons- seen by 1957 USA had 5543 Nuclear Weapons compared to USSR's 650.
- **Massive Retaliation:** Sec Dulles believed in promoting a policy of extreme reaction to any show of force. This would act as a deterrent.
- **Both Enshrined in NSC 162/2**

#### **Europe:**

- **Berlin Crisis**
  - 10<sup>th</sup> Nov 1958. Khrushchev demands West Berlin.
  - Eisenhower refuses and manages to diplomatically end the crisis in a meeting at Camp David in September 1959
- **Hungary Crisis**
  - 1956, hard-line Rakosi is replaced by moderate Nagy. He promises reforms and to leave Warsaw Pact
  - Khrushchev sends in 250,000 soldiers- 3,000 Hungarians killed, 20,000 flee.
  - Eisenhower does nothing, despite Hungarians expecting and pleading for support
- **U2 Crisis**
  - U2 Spy Plane shot down 1 May 1960
  - 5 May 1960, Gary Powers presented to media- Eisenhower admits it was a spy plane 'distasteful necessity'
  - Severely soured relationship- Paris Conference descended into chaos.

#### **Asia**

- **Taiwan**
  - 1954, Mao orders the shelling of Taiwanese islands Quemoy and Matsu.
  - In reaction Eisenhower passes the Formosa Resolution in Jan 1955, providing for the defence of Taiwan
  - Sec Dulles also suggested that Nuclear Weapons may be used. In response on 1 May 1955, Mao stopped the attack.
- **Vietnam**
  - By 1954 French were clearly losing the war. Eisenhower opted against airstrikes, further ensuring French Defeat
  - Geneva Accords of 1954 agreed to split Vietnam into two states (one Communist and one Capitalist) with the promise of 1956 election to unite the two.

- Eisenhower worried that the Communists would win, refused to sign the agreement and supported Diem's regime in South Vietnam. By 1961 he had provided \$7 Billion in aid and 100 advisors.

- **Korea**

- Eisenhower went to Korea in December 1952 (before he was even inaugurated) for 7 months started a campaign of diplomacy.
- Dulles also sought to scare China/N.Korea by threatening to use an atomic bomb
- The armistice was signed on 27 July 1953

### **Middle East**

- **Suez Crisis**

- Nasser tried to get help from both sides of the Cold War- getting aid from USA to build Aswan Dam, buying weapons from the Czechs and recognising China.
- USA withdrew aid in reaction, so to make money Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal in July 1956
- Britain/France/Israel invade expecting US Support. Eisenhower condemns it and stops invasion. But is viewed as imperialist now.

- **Iran Coup and CENTO**

- In 1951 Mossadegh was elected Iranian Prime Minister and he nationalised the Oil companies. USA organise Coup in 1953, installing US puppet and now getting 40% of oil
- 1955 Dulles establishes CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) made up of Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, UK and Turkey. BUT in 1958 Iraq leave after a coup and Nasser never joins

- **Eisenhower Doctrine**

- 5<sup>th</sup> Jan 1957. Eisenhower promises to assist any nation in the Middle East in defending against communism. Congress agree \$200 million fund
- Worried about the growing influence of Nasser in Lebanon- he uses the fund to ensure Lebanese support.
- 'Operation Blue Bat', sending 14,000 troops to assist the Government in July. They remained until a new election took place ensuring Lebanon's independence, and left in October.

### **CIVIL RIGHTS**

- **Brown vs Topeka 1954**

- Linda Brown walked 21 blocks to black school, applies to white school 7 blocks away. Application refused. NAACP, Thurgood Marshall and Oliver start court case,
- 17<sup>th</sup> May 1954 the US Supreme court ruled that segregation in schools should end. Justice Warren's appointment was described 'as the biggest damned-fool mistake I ever made'

- March 1956, 22 Southern State senators made the Southern Manifesto promising to oppose segregation.
- No deadline for desegregation set its guidelines were 'by all deliberate speed'
- KKK numbers increased, White Citizens Councils were established having over 250,000 members in 1956

- **Little Rock**

- In 1955 Supreme Court follow up Brown decision and declare schools have to desegregate 'at all deliberate speed' In 1957, *Arkansas State Press* start a campaign to desegregate their schools and In September Little Rock High School was set to accept its first nine black students.
- Eisenhower tried to persuade Faubus to stop the National Guard from preventing the students. He failed. In response he federalised the 10,000 strong National Guard (meaning they now had to listen to him) and sent in the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne division to protect them. He does this for the entire year, but only 3 graduated
- For his actions Faubus was voted as one of the ten most admired men in America in a Gallup Poll of 1958. He would go on to be re-elected four times.
- The schools were reopened in 1959, but de-facto segregation continued and in 1960 only 3% of Little Rock was African American.

- **Montgomery Bus Boycott**

- 1/12/1955 Rosa Parks arrested and fined for refusing to give up her seat.. Rosa Parks with NAACP launch boycott. Started as one day, developed into a year. 17,000 Black Americans took part, 200 vehicles organized by church transporting black Americans. MLK arrested for speeding, his car carried people to work.
- In December 1956, the US Supreme Court made bus segregation illegal- *Bowder vs Gayle*
- 1966, Rosa Parks was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. But she was targeted by racists so moved to Detroit.

- **Emmett Till**

- 1955, 14 year old Emmett Till is murdered for 'flirting' with an older white woman. Body is found and is hugely disfigured. No-one is arrested.
- Becomes a huge news story, with his burial being an open casket- Eisenhower does nothing.

- **Autherine Lucy**
  - 1956 Autherine Lucy is expelled from Alabama University despite winning a 1995 Court Case *Lucy vs Adams* which said she could attend.
  - Again, Eisenhower does nothing.
- **Civil Rights Act 1957**
  - Driven by a desire to win the black vote in the 1956 election and shocked that only 7000 of Mississippi's 900,000 black population were able to vote.
  - Eisenhower didn't help the bill pass claiming he didn't really understand it- 'There were certain phrases I did not completely understand'. Nixon was more in charge.
  - Dixiecrats did much to weaken it, infamously Strom Thurmond filibustered the bill- for 24 hours and 18 minutes
  - Ultimately the bill was poor- as any public official found obstructing a AA's right to vote would be tried by a white jury
  - MLK stated 'the present bill is far better than no bill at all
- **Civil Rights Act 1960**
  - Worried about the violence facing AA children attending schools- he wanted to pass a bill to protect integrated schools and also further help AAs get the vote.
  - It was again watered down- but it made the obstruction of school desegregation a federal crime (\$5000 dollars or 5 year jail term) and established further penalties for denying AA's the vote... But the penalty was a \$1000 dollar fine.
  - However, in total, Eisenhower was only able to add 3% of AAs to the electoral register

- He spoke well and his idea of the 'New Frontier' captured the imagination
- He took on his Catholicism dead on in a speech to Houston Ministers (although it is still estimated to have lost him 1.5 million votes)
- LBJ was his running mate, as strong Southerner, helping him win votes in the South

#### TV

- The first TV debate was watched by 74 million people.
- Nixon was ill- 'My god they've embalmed him before he even died'
- Nixon was seen as weak 'I agree with Senator Kennedy' and didn't look at the camera.
- After that point JFK pulled away in the polls- having been neck and neck before.
- Kennedy had adverts with jungles to convince housewives- 'Kennedy for Me'

#### **New Frontier: Announced in Democratic Convention speech of July 1960**

##### Successes:

- Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 provided 351 training programmes in 40 states.
- Social Security Amendments Act 1961 expanded benefits for elderly and disabled.
- Raised minimum wage by 25%, and built over 100,000 new houses.
- Extended food stamp programme to 240,000 more people. Extended free school lunch programme to 700,000 more children and 85,000 schools
- Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 created 26,000 jobs and 15,000 training positions.
- Kennedy managed to pass 35 of the 58 bills he submitted to Congress.
- Established the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 and passed the Equal Pay Act in June 1963 allowing Women to reclaim lost wages (171,000 women reclaimed \$84 million)
- Provided \$9 billion for Nasa

##### Failures:

- Many initiatives rejected: Civil Rights Act, Medicaid to support elderly healthcare, tax cuts programme, financial aid to schools and reauthorisation of Area Development Act in 1963.
- Many initiatives only provided temporary work or just training positions.
- The Omnibus Housing Act of 1961 provided 5 billion to help build housing, but money went to developers and building companies rather than helping to create cheap housing
- Many of Kennedy's act were simply extensions of existing programmes rather than innovative ones: Omnibus Housing Act, Interstate Highway System etc.
- Minimum wage increase to cover over half a million of the poorest workers including 150,000 Laundry workers (usually African American Women)

#### **JFK REVISION GUIDE**

#### **1960 ELECTION:**

##### Eisenhower's Mistakes:

- Caused a recession in 1960, due to creating a deficit in 1959.
- Refused to correct Kennedy's misconception that there was a missile gap
- When asked about what ideas Nixon had in Government- he stuttered 'give me a week and I might think of one'

##### Nixon's errors:

- Nixon promised to campaign in all 50 states wasting time and money. Meant he looked tired and worn out during debate.
- Nixon failed to help MLK in October 1960 allowing Kennedy to win the black vote 70:30
- He failed to capitalise on the popularity of Eisenhower not allowing him to campaign until October

##### Kennedy's Strengths:

- Kennedy was a war hero and seen as a youthful option with his young wife Jackie.

## FOREIGN POLICY:

### Vietnam:

- Kennedy did not want to be known as the President who lost Vietnam and had to prove himself
- Increased US personnel to 17,000 (compared to 800 before) and even had soldiers fight in first battle of Ap Bac.
- Established MACV in 1962 to assist South Vietnamese military (Military Assistance Command Vietnam)
- Followed the doomed policy of 'Strategic Hamlets' forcibly moving villagers to protect them- this only increased support for the Communists.
- Supported Diem who persecuted the Buddhist majority and was unpopular- leading to self-immolation of Buddhist Monk. Kennedy didn't even know Buddhism was the main religion.
- Due to Diem's failure he supported a coup and Diem was killed, General Westmoreland said this compelled USA to stay in Vietnam and clean up the mess.

### Berlin:

- After Vienna Summit Khrushchev thought JFK was naïve and could be taken advantage of
- After 2 million had fled to West Berlin between 1949 and 1958 Khrushchev built the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961.
- JFK instructed Dean Rusk to use it as propaganda to prove Capitalism > Communism
- JFK sought to ensure Berlin felt supported in his famous June 1963 visit (Ich bin ein Berliner)

### Cuba

- January 1959 Castro succeeds in his revolution in Cuba, he is invited to Washington by the Eisenhower administration. Despite the revolution not being Communist, Eisenhower began economic sanctions in 1960.
- JFK didn't lift these sanctions and endorsed the Bay of Pigs Invasion in April 1961, training 1600 Cubans to invade- it failed and pushed Castro towards the USSR, announcing they were communist
- February 7 1962, JFK announced an embargo of Cuba, Castro begins trading with Khrushchev and agrees to house missiles for him.

### Cuban Missile Crisis

- 14<sup>th</sup> of October U2 spy plane takes photos of missile sites on Cuba
- 22<sup>nd</sup> October Kennedy announces situation to US public and forms embargo of 800km (later reduced to 500km)
- 24<sup>th</sup> October two Soviet ships and a submarine approach the embargo but turn back
- 26<sup>th</sup> October Kennedy threatens to invade Cuba and Khrushchev offers to take missiles out in return for promising to not invade. He then says only if missiles are removed from Turkey.

- 29<sup>th</sup> of October Kennedy publically accepts first agreement, but secretly removes missiles from Turkey- publically looks like winner.
- In aftermath a hotline is set up between White House and Kremlin and Partial Nuclear Test Ban treaty is signed in August 1963

## CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS

### Sit Ins:

- Began under Eisenhower- 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 1960, spread to over 50,000 protests in Seven states.
- Led to founding of SNCC (Student, Non-violent, Coordinating Committee)
- MLK got involved and was arrested for participating in Oct. 1960- JFK secured his release

### Freedom Rides:

- Spring of 1961 CORE recreate Journey of Reconciliation 1947 to test if desegregation of buses was accepted (Boynton vs Virginia 1960)
- Begins with 13 riders, led to 60 further rides. Bobby Kennedy pressured ICC (Interstate Commerce Commission) to enforce desegregation.
- ICC ended segregation 1<sup>st</sup> November 1961.

### Albany Campaign:

- Albany, Georgia. Organised by SNCC and MLK. Aim to peacefully protest to end segregation.
- Chief Laurie Pritchett studied SNCC's tactics and knew to let protest stay peaceful- annoying SNCC who wanted attention to injustice. MLK left, believing he had failed.
- SNCC stayed and by 1962 had desegregated.

### James Meredith and University Cases

- James Meredith got into Ole Miss and was allowed entry after NAACP cases.
- He entered on Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> 1962, led to riots- two dead and Bobby Kennedy called in 500 US Marshalls to protect him.
- With this protection he graduated in August 1963- Similar case in Alabama June 1963, Governor Wallace refused to allow black students on campus- Kennedy federalised the Alabama state guard to stop this.

### Birmingham:

- Organised by SCLC in April 1963- Targeted due to knowledge of how violent Chief Bull Connor was.
- Arrests and violence directed at protestors led to national outrage.
- Bobby Kennedy again helped- getting King released from prison on 20 April 1963. Also sent an assistant to help desegregate Birmingham.

### March on Washington

- Organised by SNCC, SCLC, NAACP and MLK- Aim to increase pressure on Kennedy.
- 27 Aug, 1963. Over 200,000 marchers ending at Lincoln Memorial, where King made Speech
- Kennedy didn't initially want march to happen, but in the end supported it with 19,000 troops.

## OPPONENTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

- General population:

- Many normal white Americans were against Civil rights- One poll saw Civil Rights at bottom of a list of voters concerns, a 1961 poll saw 63% of people were against the Freedom Rides
- Led to many Southern Democrats and Republicans being elected to fight against Civil Rights laws (1963 act rejected for example)
- White Citizens Councils
  - Formed in aftermath of Brown vs Topeka- reached membership of 60,000 by Kennedy Era
  - Brought together white professional and upper class families to oppose intergeation via local, state and national politics.
- Klu Klux Klan
  - The Third Klan was directly responsible for violence- Killing NAACP organiser Medgar Evers in 1963, bombing church in Birmingham killing 4 schoolgirls.
  - They would also threaten white businesses to stay segregated as happened in Florida 1964
- Politicians
  - Dixiecrats- Southern Democrats who opposed Civil Rights- voting against laws, filibustering them, and weakening them. JFK relied on their support.
  - Governors- Many Southern Governors such as Faubus and Wallace who opposed integration within their states. Wallace won in 1962 running as a racist who opposed Black voter registration and said in his winning speech 'segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever'.

- EEOC did not achieve significant change boasting a rise from 1 to 2 employees as a 100% increase
- Ignored and resented activism- considered SNCC as 'sons of bitches', waited a long time to help Freedom Riders.

### AMERICAN DREAM BY 1963:

#### World Position:

- ✓ Had many treaties- NATO (1949) SEATO (1954 and CENTO (1959. Pactomania.

- ✓ Was ahead in Nuclear Arms race-

Strategic nuclear missiles, warheads and throw-weights of United States and Soviet Union, 1964-1982<sup>(17)(18)</sup>

Year	Launchers		Warheads		Megatonnage	
	United States	Soviet Union	United States	Soviet Union	United States	Soviet Union
1964	2,416	375	6,800	500	7,500	1,000

- ✓ Covert actions had been used to keep allies- Congo, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Brazil.
- ✓ The Peace Corps (1961) improved image being sent to 44 countries.
- ✗ Cuba had been pushed into Soviet arms and was now Communist 90 miles from USA
- ✗ Behind in Space Race- Sputnik in 1957 and Yuri Gagarin 1961- failed satellite- Flopnik
- ✗ America was being sucked into Vietnam- failing strategies of Strategic Hamlets and weakness of Diem.

#### Economy:

- ✓ During JFK-Unemployment down to 6%, GNP went up 20%, production up 22% and personal income up 15%. Net Income for Farmers increased by \$330. Corporate Profits reached 51 billion dollars in 1962
- ✓ Committed to cutting taxes to stimulate economy- can be seen as deficit shrunk between 1962 and 1966.
- ✗ Despite Boom- Americans still concerned- Inflation and Unemployment was rated as biggest problems by voters in 1963.
- ✗ Poverty had only reduced to 19% from 20% in 1960- Other America
- ✗ Poverty was a particular problem in ethnic minorities (35% of AAs)- Ghettoisation still a massive issue.

#### Women:

- ✓ JFK Set up Presidential Commission on Women in 1961, led by Eleanor Roosevelt
- ✓ JFK passed Equal Pay Act 1963 making it illegal to pay male and female employees different wages.
- ✗ Economically unequal in times of position- 80% of teachers but only 10% of principals, 7% of doctors and 3% of lawyers.
- ✗ 18 states didn't allow female jurors, 6 states said females needed male approval to enter financial agreements- and contraception was banned in many states.
- ✗ Even protest groups were sexist SDS (33% female, but leaders were only 6% female)

#### Youth:

- ✓ More students than ever before and they have free speech

### JFK'S CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIONS

#### Successes:

- Proactive actions of Bobby Kennedy in supporting James Meredith, getting King released from jail and supporting Birmingham campaign
- Bobby Kennedy also led 57 cases against illegal violations of voter rights.
- JFK helped promote AAs in Government- appointing 40 to top posts and appointing 5 black US Circuit Judges.
- Created EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) in 1961 to promote integration

#### Failures:

- No significant legislation passed
- Never stood up to Dixiecrats- Retreated on Voting Rights in 1963 when Senators protested, still appointed 20% segregationist judges to satisfy Dixiecrats.
- While he invited Civil rights Leaders to meet, he never accepted their ideas- 'Everyone was charmed by the manner they had been turned down'

- ✘ Port Huron Statement 1962 showed anger with how rich the USA was yet- minorities and poor Americans still treated poorly.

### Why does Women's Movement emerge?

#### Feminine Mystique:

- Published in 1963- described how housewives deserve more and were conditioned to want to not be independent/have careers- argued women should rise up and fight misogyny
- First print sold 1.4 million and sold 3 million in first 3 years.

#### Inequality:

- Economically unequal in times of position- 80% of teachers but only 10% of principals, 7% of doctors and 3% of lawyers.
- 18 states didn't allow female jurors, 6 states said females needed male approval to enter financial

agreements- and contraception was banned in many states

- Majority in low paid jobs- so equal pay act didn't help

#### Other Protest movements:

- Inspired by success of Civil rights- Freedom Rides and Freedom marches.
- Angered by sexism of protest movements- SDS (33% female, but leaders were only 6% female), Stokely Carmichael of SNCC was a renowned sexist- best position for a women was horizontal
- Activist Tradition of women who fought for the vote in the 1910s

#### The Pill:

- Approved by FDA in 1960, by 1962 over 1.2 million are using it.
  - Allows women to decide when they want a family.